

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 7835

EXDIS

TEHRAN PASS TO PHIL WISE WITH PRESIDENTIAL PARTY

EO 11652GDS
TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, JIMMY) PL
SUBJ: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT: SCHEDULE: MEETING WITH VICE FOREIGN
MINISTER SPASOWSKI, OCTOBER 29, 1977

REF: A. STATE 257457

1. I CALLED ON SPASOWSKI OCTOBER 29 AND GAVE HIM OUR REVISED SCHEDULE (REF). I NOTED THAT NOT EVERYTHING IN THE SCHEDULE SHOULD BE TAKEN AS FINAL. FOR EXAMPLE, THERE HAD BEEN SOME DISCUSSION IN WASHINGTON OF STOPS AT THE GHETTO MEMORIAL AND THE NIKE MONUMENT. HOWEVER, THE INTERVAL INDICATED BETWEEN ARRIVAL AT THE TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER AND DEPARTURE FOR THE SEJM SHOULD BE LONG ENOUGH TO COVER THESE POSSIBILITIES, AS WELL. I ADDED THAT THE SCHEDULE WAS PREDICATED ON THE ASSUMPTION THE NEW ARRIVAL DATE OF DECEMBER 2 WAS ACCEPTABLE.

2. SPASOWSKI RESPONDED INITIALLY BY ASKING, FOR THE SAKE OF CLARIFICATION, THAT I CONFIRM THAT ONE MEETING FOR BILATERAL TALKS WAS INVISAGED, BETWEEN 2:00 AND 4:00 PM, AND THAT ALL MEMBERS OF THE OFFICIAL PARTY WOULD ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT TO THE SEJM FOR THE TALKS. I REPLIED THAT THIS WAS CORRECT, NOTING THAT THE SCHEDULE
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CALLED FOR A SHORT PRIVATE MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK BEFORE THE MAIN TALKS BEGAN.

3. SPASOWSKI AND DEPARTMENT III DIRECTOR SZEWCZYK, WHO WAS PRESENT, BOTH SAID THAT THE TOTAL TIME FOR BILATERAL TALKS HAD BEEN GREATLY REDUCED IN COMPARISON TO THE SCHEDULE UNDER CONSIDERATION EARLIER. SPASOWSKI NOTED THAT THE PREVIOUS PLAN HAD CALLED FOR A TOTAL OF

3-1/2 HOURS OF TALKS, BROKEN INTO TWO SESSION. I SAID THAT THAT SCHEDULE HAD INCLUDED COUNTERPART WORKING LUNCHEES, TO WHICH THE US SIDE COULD NOT AGREE. WE DID NOT FAVOR SPLITTING THE PRESIDENTIAL PARTY INTO SEPARATE SMALL LUNCH GROUPS AND THEREFORE WERE SUGGESTING THAT WE AVOID LUNCHEON PLANS ALTOGETHER. I UNDERSTOOD THAT THE PRESIDENTIAL PARTY WOULD EAT LUNCH ON THE PLANE BEFORE ARRIVING.

4. SZEWCZYK SAID NOT ONLY LUNCH, BUT ALSO A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF TIME FOR THE TALKS, WOULD BE SACRIFICED AND THIS WAS A HARD DECISION TO TAKE. I SAID THAT IF WE DID NOT HAVE SUCH SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENTS AS WE CONTEMPLATED REACHING PRETTY MUCH WRAPPED UP BEFORE-HAND, WE WERE UNLIKELY TO BE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE THEM DURING THE PRESIDENT'S STAY, IN ANY CASE, AS SPASOWSKI HIMSELF HAD EARLIER POINTED OUT. IN THAT EVENT, THE LENGTH OF TIME AVAILABLE FOR TALKS WOULD NOT PARTICULARLY MATTER. SZEWCZYK SAID IT WAS NOT ONLY A QUESTION OF AGREEMENTS. ALLOWING FOR THE NECESSARY INTERPRETATION, THE NEW SCHEDULE WOULD ALLOW ONLY HALF AN HOUR FOR EACH SIDE TO SPEAK. THIS SEEMED TOO SHORT, HE SAID. I ASKED IF THIS MEANT THE POLISH SIDE REJECTED THE PROPOSED SCHEDULE AND, IF SO, WHETHER THEY HAD A COUNTERPROPOSAL TO MAKE. SPASOWSKI REPLIED THAT THEY WERE NOT REJECTING THE PROPOSAL, BUT MAKING AN OBSERVATION OF FACT: THE TIME FOR THE TALKS HAD BEEN "HEAVILY" REDUCED. THIS WAS ALL THE MORE DIFFICULT FOR THEM, HE SAID, BECAUSE THEY MUST MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO INCLUDE THE PRIME MINISTER (JAROSZEWICZ) AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE (JABLONSKI) ON THEIR SIDE OF THE TABLE AND THIS MEANT THAT THE TIME FOR INTERCHANGE BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE

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FIRST SECRETARY MUST BE LESS IN SUCH A PLENARY THATN WOULD BE THE CASE IF IT WERE POSSIBLE TO CONTEMPLATE A LONGER MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO OF THEM, AS THEY HAD EARLIER SUGGESTED (WARSAW 6926, PARA 6). SPASOWSKI SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT THE FIRST SECRETARY ON THE QUESTION, WITH A VIEW TO HAVING A FIRM REPLY AT OUR NEXT MEETING ON NOVEMBER 2. (SUNDAY BEGINS A THREE-DAY HOLIDAY; NOVEMBER 1 IS ALL SOULS DAY.) I SAID I WOULD REPORT THIS PRELIMINARY REACTION. I SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT TO HAVE A RESPONSE FROM THE POLISH SIDE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRE-ADVANCE TEAM IN WARSAW ON NOVEMBER 4.

5. I RETURNED TO THE QUESTION OF THE ACCEPTABILITY OF SETTING THE VISIT BACK BY A DAY. SPASOWSKI SAID HE COULD CONVEY A "SLIGHTLY TENTATIVE", BUT NOT FINAL AGREEMENT. HE THOUGHT FINAL AGREEMENT WOULD BE FORTHCOMING. HE ASKED WHETHER THE PROPOSED SCHEDULE CHANGE WAS BECAUSE OF THE ADDITION OF SAUDI ARABIA TO THE ITINERARY. I SAID THIS OF COURSE WAS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR. SPASOWSKI SAID IT WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE A "CONGESTED" TRIP EVEN WITH A DAY'S EXTENSION. SZEWCZYK SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENT'S STAY IN WARSAW WOULD STILL BE OF THE SAME SHORT DURATION, BOTH SIDES SHOULD SEEK TO MAKE THE MOST OF IT. HE WONDERED WHAT THE PUBLIC WOULD THINK OF A SCHEDULE THAT ONLY ALLOWED "A HALF HOUR OF TALKS." I POINTED OUT

THAT OUR SCHEDULE CALLED FOR TWO HOURS OF TALKS, NOT HALF AN HOUR.

6. SZEWCZYK SAID THE BRIEFNESS OF TIME FOR TALKS WOULD STILL BE NOTED AND QUESTIONED WHEN THE SCHEDULE BECAME PUBLIC. ON THE POINT OF PUBLICITY, SZEWCZYK EXPRESSED THE HOPE THE EMBASSY WOULD STAY CLOSELY IN TOUCH WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. HE SAID POLISH SECURITY OFFICIALS WOULD INSIST ON THIS. HE ADDED IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT ALL PUBLIC INFORMATION ABOUT THE VISIT BE COORDINATED, PERHAPS WITH SOME DETAILS OMITTED. I SAID I HAD THE GREATEST ADMIRATION FOR POLISH SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, WHICH WERE ALWAYS SO EFFECTIVE. I SAID, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WOULD BE NO WAY TO KEEP INFORMATION REGARDING THE VISIT FROM THE US PRESS. WE WOULD HAVE TO BALANCE BETWEEN THE REQUIREMENTS OF SECURITY AND THE NEED TO PROVIDE LEGITIMATE INFORMATION TO THE PRESS AND CONFIDENTIAL

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PUBLIC.

7. SPASOWSKI THEN RAISED THE QUESTION OF SUBJECTS TO BE TAKEN UP IN THE BILATERAL TALKS. HE ASKED ME WHETHER I HAD DISCUSSED THIS IN WASHINGTON, IN PARTICULAR THE COMMUNIQUE. I REPLIED THAT, ALTHOUGH I HAD NOT TAKEN UP THE SUBJECT OF A COMMUNIQUE, I HAD DISCUSSED SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS FOR THE TALKS. THESE, I REMARKED, WERE SEEN IN WASHINGTON AS BEING TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT--ALTHOUGH BY NO MEANS WHOLLY--DEPENDENT ON THE MEETING OF THE JOINT TRADE COMMISSION WHICH WAS TO TAKE PLACE IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT. SOME TOPICS WERE GRAIN ARRANGEMENTS, A POSSIBLE INDUSTRIAL-COOPERATION AGREEMENT, AND A TOURISM AGREEMENT. SZEWCZYK ASKED WHO HAD RAISED THE QUESTION OF AN INDUSTRIAL-COOPERATION AGREEMENT. I REPLIED THAT THIS HAD COME UP DURING THE RECENT VISIT OF FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER OLSZEWSKI. I WAS NOT CERTAIN WHETHER THE MINISTER HIMSELF OF SOMEONE IN HIS PARTY HAD RAISED IT.

8. SPASOWSKI SAID THAT THE QUESTION OF AN INDUSTRIAL-COOPERATION AGREEMENT HAD BEEN TAKEN UP BEFORE WITHOUT RESULTS AND ASKED WHAT COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED NOW THROUGH SUCH AN AGREEMENT. I REPLIED THAT THE IDEA HAD BEGUN WITH THE POLES, THAT THERE HAD INDEED BEEN EARLIER

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 7835

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DISCUSSIONS, OF WHICH NOTHING HAD COME. NOW MINISTER OLSZEWSKI HAS STIMULATED A US REEXAMINATION OF THE QUESTION. IF, HOWEVER, NOTHING WAS LIKELY TO COME OF A NEW CONSIDERATION OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT, WE WOULD EASILY DROP IT FROM THE AGENDA. SPASOWSKI REPLIED HE WAS NOT PREDICTING THAT NOTHING WOULD COME OF THE DISCUSSION, BUT SIMPLY WAS UNCERTAIN WHETHER CONCRETE RESULTS COULD BE EXPECTED.

9. SPASOWSKI ASKED WHO HAD RAISED THE QUESTION OF DISCUSSING AN AGREEMENT ON TOURISM. I REPLIED THAT THIS ALSO HAD COME FROM THE POLISH SIDE DURING THE OLSZEWSKI VISIT. AGAIN, I WAS NOT SURE WHETHER IT HAD BEEN RAISED BY THE MINISTER OR BY ONE OF HIS PARTY. SPASOWSKI SAID TOURISM FROM THE US TO POLAND WAS DEVELOPING WELL. EVERYONE WHO WANTS TO COME, HE SAID, CAN. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE WERE OBVIOUS FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS ON TRAVEL BY POLES TO THE US. I SAID WE COULD NOT EXPECT AN AGREEMENT TO SUBSIDIZE POLISH TRAVEL TO THE US. AGAIN, I SAID, THIS WAS A POLISH SUGGESTION. IF THERE WERE DISAGREEMENT ON IT WITHIN THE POLISH GOVERNMENT, I'D APPRECIATE BEING TOLD. WE COULD LIVE WITHOUT IT. SZEWCZYK SAID THAT OUR CIVIL-AVIATION PROBLEMS WERE CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH TOURISM AND WE WERE FINDING IT DIFFICULT TO RESOLVE THEM. HE SAID THIS WOULD HAVE TO COME UP
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DURING THE BILATERAL TALKS AT SOME POINT.

10. SZEWCZYK NOTED THAT THE PROPOSED REVISED PROGRAM CONTAINED NO PROVISION FOR A MEETING BETWEEN SECRETARY VANCE AND FOREIGN MINISTER WOJTASZEK. HE OBSERVED THAT SUCH A MEETING HAD BEEN DECIDED UPON DURING THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH WOJTASZEK. I REPLIED THAT OUR SCHEDULE COVERED ONLY THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM. I NOTED THAT THERE MIGHT BE TIME IN THE LATE AFTERNOON FOR SUCH A MEETING. I SAID I WOULD SEEK INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING THE SECRETARY'S SCHEDULE AND SPECIFICALLY ABOUT A MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER.

11. SPASOWSKI CONCLUDED THE MEETING BY SAYING WE WOULD HAVE TO CONTINUE THE DISCUSSION ON NOVEMBER 2. SZEWCZYK ASKED SPASOWSKI WHETHER IT SHOULD NOT BE SUGGESTED TO WASHINGTON THAT THE POLISH SIDE WOULD SEEK A WAY TO EXTEND THE TIME FOR BILATERAL TALKS. SPASOWSKI REPLIED THAT NOTHING FURTHER SHOULD BE SAID UNTIL WEDNESDAY.

12. COMMENT: ONCE THE POLISH OFFICIALS HAD OADSORBED THE CONTENTS OF OUR PROPOSAL, THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE MEETING WAS DECIDELY COOL AND SOMEWHAT STRAINED.

13. SPASOWSKI'S SKEPTICAL COMMENTS ABOUT THE INDUSTRIAL-COOPERATION AND TOURISM AGREEMENTS REPEAT THE ATTITUDE HE HAS LONG EXPRESSED ON SUCH SUBJECTS. IT IS NOT CLEAR TO ME WHETHER HIS REMARKS OF TODAY SIMPLY REFLECT THAT LONG-HELD VIEW, WHICH IN THE PAST HAS USUALLY BEEN OVERRULED BY THE LEADERSHIP, OR ARE MEANT TO CONVEY A MORE FAR-REACHING SKEPTICISM, E.G., ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR A SUCCESSFUL MEETING OF THE JOINT TRADE COMMISSION.

14. CLEARLY, THE PROSPECT OF HAVING JAROSZEWICZ AND JABLONSKI FLANKING HIM DURING ALL BUT FIFTEEN MINUTES OF THE TIME HE WILL
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BE ENGAGED IN TALKS WITH THE PRESIDENT IS DISTURBING TO GIEREK. SPASOWSKI'S ATTITUDE REFLECTS THIS.

15. WHATEVER THE CAUSE, TODAY'S MEETING WAS THE COOLEST WE HAVE HAD FOR A LONG TIME.

16. ACTION REQUESTED: I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING BEFORE NOVEMBER 2 GUIDANCE ON:

A. WHETHER WE WISH TO SCHEDULE A MEETING FOR THE SECRETARY WITH FOREIGN MINISTER WOJSTASZEK AND, IF SO, AT WHAT TIME;

B. WHAT SORT OF COMMUNIQUE OR FINAL STATEMENT WE WISH TO HAVE. (THE POLISH LEADERSHIP WILL STUDY WITH INTEREST THE ANALOGOUS DOCUMENTS ISSUED AT EARLIER STOPS);

C. IT WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL TO HAVE SOME INDICATIONS OF MRS. CARTER'S

PREFERENCES FOR HER PROGRAM (WARSAW 7436 AND 7151);

D. I WAS TOLD IN WASHINGTON THAT I WOULD SHORTLY RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS

TO MAKE A REPRESENTATION TO FOREIGN MINISTER WOJTASZEK ON DIVIDED FAMILIES. IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO MAKE THIS APPROACH AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE;

E. WHETHER WE WISH TO SUGGEST AN AGENDA OR TO LEAVE THE INITIATIVE ON THIS TO THE POLISH SIDE.

DAVIES

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